1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Names.—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

Male	*Female*
1. K'u'nu.	1. Hi'nu.
2. He'nu.	2. Wi'ha.
3. Ha'ga.	3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Aksi).
4. Na'gxi.	4. Hi'nuŋk'.
5. Naŋxixó'nu.	5. A'ksigaxó'nu.
6. Naŋxixonu'niśk'a.	6. A'ksigaxónu'niŋk'a.

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name. [171]

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551
relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562
tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193
the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'nįk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ũnųk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'nįk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuŋk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuŋk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for female child of younger brother. [60]

[1] Hi'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

351 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[1]

MALE TERMS OF ADDRESS

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nĭnk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

60

Hi-a'nte, father.
Na'ni, mother (direct address).
Hi-a'ni, mother.
Hi'ni, elder brother (direct address?).
Ni'ni, elder br. (?).
Hi'sunk', or HinûnkAdji^a, younger br.
Hi'nu, elder sr.
Wai'teke, younger sr.: or 'Teûñgûa'k' (obsolete) (direct address?).
Hiwangê', wife of elder br.
Hiwangê', wife of younger br.
Hitca'^a, husband of elder sr.
Hitca'^a, husband of younger sr.
Hi'nînk', son of elder br.
Hi'nînk', son of younger br.
Hi'nûnk', daughter of elder br.
Hi'nûnk', daughter of younger br.
Hi'nûnktce'k', wife of son of elder br.
Hi'nûnktce'k', wife of son of younger br.
Hitcû^ckê', son of elder sr.
Hitcû^ckê', son of younger sr.
Hitcû^jônk', daughter of elder sr.
Hitcû^jônk', daughter of younger sr.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of son of elder sr.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of son of younger sr.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of elder br.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of younger br.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of elder sr.
Wadoho'tci, husband of daughter of younger sr.
Ntngta'k', son (no longer in common use) (direct address).
Hinînk', son.
Hirûkewa^, stepson.
Hitca'xa^, stepdaughter.
Nûngnûk', daughter (no longer in common use) (direct address).
Hinûnk', daughter.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of son.
Watoho'tci, husband of daughter.
Hitcû^ckê', son of son.
Hitcû^ckê, son of daughter.
Hitcû^jô'nk', daughter of daughter.
Hitcû^jônk', daughter of son.
Hinûnktce'k', wife of grandson
Wadohto'ci, husband of grand-daughter.
Hinûnga'a, p. br.
Hi-uni'nînk', wife of p. br.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

601 Hi'ni, Hisû'ŋk', older and younger sons of p. br., respectively.
Hi'nu, waitckê', older and younger daughters of p. br., respectively.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of p. br.
Watoho'tci, husbands of daughters of p. br.
Hiniŋk', sons of sons of p. br.
Hinûŋk', daughters of sons of p. br.
Hitcû'°wi°, p. sr.
Hitca'°, husband of p. sr.
Hitcû°cke', sons of p. sr.
Hitcû°jo'ŋk', daughters of p. sr.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of p. sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of p. sr.
Hitcû°ckê, sons of sons of p. sr.
Hitcû'°jô'ŋk', daughters of sons of p. sr.
Hide'k', m. br.
Hitcû'°wi°, wife of m. br.
Hide'kenŋk', sons of m. br.
Hidcû'°wi°, daughters of m. br.
Hitcû°ckê', sons of sons of m. br.
Hitcû°jô'ŋk', daughters of sons of m. br.
Hitcû'°wi°, wives of sons of m. br.
Hitca'°, husbands of daughters of m. br.
Hi-uni'nŋk', m. sr.
Hinûŋga's, husband of m. sr.
Hi'ni, Hisû'nk, older and younger sons of m. sr., respectively.
Hi'niŋk, male children of male children of m. sr.
Hi'nûŋk, female children of male children of m. sr.
Hinu, waitckê, daughters of m. sr., respectively.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of sons of m. sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of m. sr.
Teidjo', elder br.
Hitcû°ckê', children of br.
Hitcû°jôŋk', daughters of br.
Hiciga'°, wife of br.
Hisû'ŋk', younger br.
Hitcôŋk', younger sr.
Hi'nu, elder sr.
Hicik°e', husband of sr.
Hint'ŋk', sons of sr.
Hinûŋk', daughters of sr.
Hiciga'°, wives of sons of br.
Hicike', husbands of daughters of br.
Hinûŋktce'k', wives of children of sr.
Wadoho'tci, husbands of daughters of sr.
Hicik°e', husband of father's sr.

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

601

Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitca'ᵃ, brother of wife.
Hitra'ᵃwiᵃ, wife.
Hiwange', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcû'ᵃckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcû'ᵃjô'ŋk', were all called Hitcû'ᵃckê' or Hitcû'ᵃjô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'ᵃwonk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other. [606]

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series. [602 603]

Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *tcida*, elder brother; *hitcû'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'ᵃ*, wife of brother; and *hicik'e'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

hini.	hinu.
hiniŋk'.	hinuŋk.
hicikê'.	hiciga'ᵃ.
hitcû'ᵃckê'.	hitcû'ᵃjô'ŋk' (tcuᵃ—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'ᵃwiᵃ.
hitcâᵃ.	hitra'ᵃwiᵃ.
hitcû'ŋk'.	
hitcak'â'ro (friend).	

601 193

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from *i* to *u*; from *e* to *a*; from *a* to *u*), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcu'ᵃwiᵃ*, *wiᵃ* is undoubtedly identical with *-wiᵃ*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *ga*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicik'*, and *hitcû'ᵃ*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'â'ro—k'i hitcak—k'i'*, *hi-a'atc hi-u'ni*, *hiwû'ŋ—k'*, *wonic—k'i'*, *hinûŋga*, *hide—k' hiwan—gi'*, *tcidô*,

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

601 193 *wadohóteri*, and *hinû'nk'-terk'*. Hinûnga's might be said to be divided into *hinų* and *ga*, but there is no reason to assume that such a division of the word is justifiable, and for that reason it has not been included in the enumeration of *hinû'n-k'* stems. The form *tride*, elder brother, spoken by females, is baffling, all the more so if we assume that there never was a form for "younger brother" used by women.

601 Let us now separate the terms applied to relatives through marriage from those applied to blood relatives.

Blood relatives	Relatives through marriage	Blood relatives	Relatives through marriage
Hini	Hicik'ó	Waite k'ó'	Hitcu'ᵒ
Hitcû'ᵒwi'	Hicigu'ᵒ	Hinûñgu'ᵒ	Hi-uni'nįk'
Hik'ino k'ó'	Hitcû'ᵒwi'	Hide' k', hideksuí'gk'	Hinûñgu'ᵒ
Hitco k'ó'		Tcide'	
Hi-a'ate	Wadohó'teį	Hitcû'ᵒwi'	
Hi-u'ni; hi-uniní'gk	Hiwangé'	Hinįgk'	
Hicû'ų k'	Hinųgk'tce'k'		

Three terms are applied sometimes to blood relatives and sometimes to relatives through marriage: *Hitcû'ᵒwi*, *hi-uni'nįk'*, and *hinûgga's*. It is the author's belief that in all these cases the terms have been applied to relatives through marriage on account of the extremely close relationship the husbands of *hitcu'ᵒwi* and *hi-uni'nįk'* and the wives of *hinûgga's* bear to one's parents; that it is really an act of courtesy toward people whose children are in one case (*hitcû'ᵒwi'* and *hi-uni'nįk'*) regarded as one's brothers and sisters and in the other case as the same as one's sister's children. There never was the slightest confusion as to the position held by the wife of one's father's brother (*hi-uni'nįk'*), or one's mother's brother's wife, or the husband of one's mother's sister; nor is there the slightest indication that they ever were considered as identical with any blood relatives who bore the same name.

The foregoing list contains twenty-two terms of relationship applied by the Winnebago to all relatives, blood or otherwise, for five generations—one's own father's, grandfather's, son's, and grandson's. The two tables following show first, how these terms were distributed over the five generations; and second, to how many people of these five generations the same name was applied.

Generation	Male	Female
1. Grandfather's	Hitcuk'ó'	Hi'k'árak'ó'
2. Father's	Hi-a'ate, hide'k'	Hi u'ni, hi-uniníįk'
	Hinųga'ᵒ, hitcu'ᵒ	Hitcû'ᵒwi'
3. One's own	Hini, hinû'ųk'	Hinu, waitcké', hinûųk' tce'k'
	Hitcû'ᵒwi', hidoke-	Hitcû'ᵒjó'ųk', Hitcû'ᵒwi',
	Nįgk', hitcu'ᵒ,	Hiwangé', hiciga'ᵒ
	Wadohó'teį, hicik'ᵒ	
4. Son's	Hinįgk', hitcû'ᵒwi',	Hinû'ųk', hinûųk' tce'k',
	Hini, hinû'ųk',	Hitcu'ᵒ jó'ųk', hinu,
	Wadohóteri	Waitcké'

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

601

Generation	Male	Female
5. Grandson's	Hitcû°ckê', hiniŋk',	Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hiniŋk',
6. Great-grandson's	Hitcû°ckê', hiniŋk',	Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hiniŋk',
	(Hitcû°jô'ŋk')	(Hitcû°ckê')
7. Great-great-grandson's	(Hitcû°jô'ŋk')	(Hitcû°ckê')

For the first three generations no term is repeated except *hitcû'°wi°*; for the fourth generation eight terms are repeated and two terms are added, *hiniŋk'* and *hi'nûŋk'*. After that all the terms are repeated and no new terms are added. Only three sets of terms are repeated for more than two generations—*hitcû°ckê'*, *hitcû°jô'ŋk hinuŋk'ter'k*, *waxoko'tci*, and *hi'niŋk'*, *hi'nûŋk'*. After the fifth generation only one set of terms is used.

Distribution of all relationship terms[1] *occurring more than once.*—

Hi-uni'niŋk', wife of p. br.; m. sr.

Hi'ni, elder br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hiniŋk', younger br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hi'nu, elder sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Waitcê', younger sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Hi'niŋk', son of elder br.; son of sr. (sister speaking).

Hi'nûŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of sr.

Hitcû°ckê', son of elder br.; son of daughter and son; son of br.; son of p. sr.

Hitcû°jô'ŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of daughter and son; daughter of p. sr.; daughter of br.

Hitcû'°wi°, p. sr.; daughter of m. br.; wife of son of m. sr.

Hitca'°, husbands of sisters; husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of m. sr.

Hicign'°, wife of br.; wife of son of br.

Hicik'e', husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of br.

Joking Relationship[2]

602

A man was not permitted to take even the slightest liberties with any of his near relatives or with his mother-in-law or his father-in-law, but a curious exception to this rule was permitted for his father's sister's children (*hitcû°ckê'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brother's children (*hitcû°ckê'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brothers (*hide'k'*); and his sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In the two cases last named not only was a man permitted to joke with those relatives but he was supposed to do so whenever he had an opportunity. Under no circumstances were any of these individuals supposed to take offense. This relationship was of course reciprocal. If a person

[1] A more specific study of these relationship terms is reserved for a special article on Siouan Relationship Terms.

[2] The joking relationship was discovered among the Winnebago by the author. Since then it has been found to exist among the Crows and the Creeks, etc.

[171]